/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 182 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

144 171 There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] 144 197 I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/135 cont./

144 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari
197 Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological
141 measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ≠Auin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.51 1/2 meters
Maximum height	1.62 meters
Minimum height	1.47 meters

Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.45 1/2 meters
Maximum height	1.53 meters
Minimum height	1.38 meters

A. Geography and Statistics

The ≠Auin, as they call themselves and as they are known to
131 the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The
101 Hottentot designate the ≠Auin as ≠Au-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ≠Aukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ǂǂ, which indicates the click.

/136 cont./

162 The approximate number of Auin, naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about 300	persons
Dawis	" 150	"
Stampriet	" 250	"
Rooigrauwater	" 50	"
Korikas	" 150	"
Olifantskloof	" 200	"
Habakobis	" 100	"
Rietfontein	" 200	"
Tjumda	" 100	"
Go	" 150	"
Sidonitzaub	"1,000	"
Karasburg	" 100	"
Epukiro	" 100	"
Ganab	" 100	"
Gam	" 100	"
Total	about 3,000	persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

165 I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words, not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since 161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

648 It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

●144 No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

[5 cont.]

173 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] [154] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

165 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

[16 cont.]

[134] saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type
137 which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are
[131] divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in
174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated
144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

[17 cont.]

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which increases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are 137 184 decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of 134 137 areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas [perhaps a local term for "rivers"] there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

> 1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas [Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa], " Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

131 [136] "The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusche and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei [blue duiker], and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliscus, schaeffia [?], and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng [Burkea africana], red bean trees [Copaifera coleosperma], mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood [Terminalia sericea], dolf [Therocarpus erinaceus], and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

MASARWA OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

000 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
(774) doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
(825) male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
(824) from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
(776) that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

(113) 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
(563) The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
(144) may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

[68 cont.]

142 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than
144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
648 ing in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

[113]

1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the Ngami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pöch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A
[184] 114 fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[113]

2. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAu-in, "Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

ǂAuin, and one by D.F.Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113]

3. D.F.Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

/246 cont./

142 The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food,
147 especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity.
191 The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

142 The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

304 The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth.
648 Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

142 The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among
[144] the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pronounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

/247 cont./

144 conclusive evidence /248/ against any notion of racial kinship between the Bushmen and the Hottentot.

142 The arms are thin and not very muscular; the hands are small and very delicate. In contrast to the musculature of the arms, that of the legs is better developed. The arch of the foot is good; only in one case did I observe flat feet.

The big toe is pointed straight and shows neither a deviation

[291] [301] [516]

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

toward the median line of the foot nor one away from it.

In most cases the second toe extends farthest, but in two cases it was exceeded by the first toe. The second and first or second and third toe of some of the others examined extended the same distance. The following table gives more exact information on this matter:

/249 cont./

To indicate affirmation the head is thrown back and the
201 eyebrows are raised.

Otherwise, the physiognomic changes of expression are essentially like those of Europeans. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Bushman's facial mobility is considerably greater than that of a European, and even quite weak emotions are expressed by lively gestures.

If I may be permitted, I should like to emphasize here a
194 peculiarity of voice among the Bushmen; among the women especially the voice seems to me abnormally high-pitched. In my opinion the speech of a Heikum woman is pitched several notes higher, on the average, than that of a Herero woman. Evidently this peculiarity is connected with the smallness of the larynx of the Heikum people.

The anthropometric figures presented above are doubtless much
141 smaller than comparable ones for the Herero, Nama, and
144 Bergdamara [Bergdama] living in the immediate vicinity of the Bushmen. Nonetheless, as regards smallness, the Heikum certainly do not approach the Pygmies of Central Africa. Whether further ethnological and ethnographic investigations will uncover kindred traits among these peoples remains to be shown by further research.
That the Bushmen represent an almost pure race is apparent from
144 the fact that the skin color is the same for almost all individuals, and from the evident uniformity in the structure of the body, especially of the face. In addition, the other native tribes of Southwest Africa show a pronounced aversion to racial mixture with the despised Bushmen.

I come now to some ethnological and ethnographic observa-
535 tions which to me seem worthy of interest. I was especially
[171] interested in the dances of the Heikum, of which one, the //o //au, shows no similarity to any other native dance with which I have become acquainted in Southwest and East Africa.

The //o //au dance (in Kung language: //ooskĕ) is a men's dance in which a series of dueling runs by the performing dancers are represented (Figs. 5 and 6). Six men, three to a side in opposing pairs, kneel in an area about three meters square, with a free space between the two rows. In the middle of this free area there is a pile of veld food. The men kneel down, hunched very

/259 cont./

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

147 For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below 0^{o} [centigrade].
[513] Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

●144 Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bushmen, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among
197 the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the language is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omataka and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
[104] click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and ≠ the palatal click. By ⋮ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Population.

161 [13] The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

162

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kûng	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ẽin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ẽin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

144 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

619 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

7

THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non-Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by the recent work of Westphal (1962a, 1962b, 1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

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and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

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The Earlier and Middle Stone Age Cultures must consequently be regarded as previous to the Bushmen. 172 174

There is, moreover, a lack of continuity in type between the Middle and the Later Stone Cultures which precludes the possibility that the latter, and the Bushmen stone industries forming part of it, developed in South Africa out of the former. On the other hand, scattered all over East Africa, especially in Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, and Kenya, there are found stone implement industries and in some cases rock paintings so closely resembling those of the Bushmen that they must be regarded as of a common origin. These facts together lead to the conclusion that the stone industries associated in South Africa with the Bushmen were not indigenous to the country, but constitute an invading element which penetrated into it from the north-east and superseded the two pre-existing stone cultures. As yet no human remains have been found definitely associated with either of these preceding cultures, except in the case of the Still Bay Industry of the Middle Stone Age, from a deposit of which was recently excavated a skeleton belonging to the extinct racial type now termed "Boskopoid".[1] This racial type, of which other remains have been discovered, but with no clear archæological association, differs considerably from that of the Bushmen, and the two cannot be regarded as intimately related.[2]

All this suggests that the Bushmen themselves came into South Africa with their culture from the north-east. No skeletal remains have yet been discovered north of the Zambesi River similar to those of the Bushmen, however, nor are there any peoples living outside South Africa who may be regarded definitely as Bushman in race. Attempts have often been made to establish a connection between the Bushmen and the Pygmy peoples inhabiting the equatorial forests of Africa, more especially in the Congo region. The two groups of peoples certainly have various features in common. Both, for example, are short in stature, in both the hair is short and woolly, and the skin colour brownish-yellow. But in the shape of the head and above all in the build of the body they differ so markedly as to eliminate any possibility of racial identity. There seems to be no more intimate relationship between the Bushmen and the Pygmies than the fact that phylogenetically both are derived from a small variety of negro, 174 144

[1] Goodwin, op. cit., 180–1; Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 126.
[2] Cf. G. D. Laing, "The Relationship between Boskop, Bushman, and Negro Elements in the Formation of the Native Races of South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 905–8.

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to which main stock they are generally regarded as belonging. But they must be looked upon essentially as divergent branches which have specialized along different lines.[1]

At the same time, although as a distinct racial type the Bushmen are now restricted to Africa south of the Zambesi River, traces of their former existence further north are found not only in culture. Physical features reminiscent of them are seen occasionally in various peoples of East-Central Africa, such as the Andorobo, Elgunono, and Doko, while between Abyssinia on the north and the Zambesi River on the south evidence of their absorption by the Nilotic and Bantu negroes is found in sporadic reversions of their type occurring in almost all the East African peoples.[2] Moreover, the Sandawe, a settled hunting people living west of the Irangi plateau in Tanganyika Territory, speak a language which in phonology (especially in the occurrence of " click " consonants), syntax, and vocabulary has certain by no means insignificant resemblances with the Khoisan languages of South Africa, and the Kanjegu of the same region are also said to have a click language.[3] There seems to be no great similarity in appearance between these peoples and the Bushmen; but, as Dempwolff suggests, it is quite probable that they were originally Bushmen who have since become considerably modified, first by intermixture with Hamitic immigrants into East Africa, and later by the incorporation of Bantu blood as well.

On the whole, therefore, the evidence seems to indicate that at a very early time the Bushmen occupied the hunting grounds of tropical East Africa, perhaps even to the confines of Abyssinia. That they are no longer to be found in this region may be ascribed to its extensive invasion by later Hamitic and Negro peoples. Harried by the encroachment of these more powerful races, the Bushmen, where they were not exterminated or absorbed, must gradually have passed southwards, keeping along the more open grasslands of the eastern

[1] The points of resemblance between the Bushmen and the Pygmies are fully discussed by F. von Luschan, " Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76, who is of the opinion that the two are closely related. The main arguments against this view may be seen in, e.g. H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, pp. 518 sqq., and R. Pöch, " Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *KorrBl. deuts. Ges. Anthrop.*, xlii (1911), 75–80. A. C. Haddon, in *The Races of Man*, 1924, pp. 17–18, gives short summaries of the physical characteristics of the two peoples, which bring out very clearly the essential points both of resemblance and of difference.

[2] A. C. Haddon, Presidential Address to Section H, *Rept. Brit. Assn.* (*South Africa Meeting*), 1905, p. 514.

[3] O. Dempwolff, *Die Sandawe*, 1916, esp. pp. 63–70; F. J. Bagshawe, " The Peoples of the Happy Valley," *J. Afr. Soc.*, xxiv (1924–5), 25 sqq., 117 sqq., 219 sqq., 328 sqq.

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on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

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in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the */Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and the *ǂKungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names */gei /kū*, "red people," or */o /kū*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola Kung, or */O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.

[2] H. Werner, op. cit.; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

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619 197 physical characters and certain aspects of their culture, these tribes differ somewhat from the Naron and allied tribes, but their languages are of the same type.

619 South-east of Lake Ngami, in and around the Hainaveld, live the *Tserekwe*, *ǂdukwe*, and *ǂkabakwe*.[1] Further east, along the Botletle River and the south-east Okavango basin, are the *Ohekwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaTete*. Closely related to them are the *MaHura*, who live along the Lower Botletle and Lake Kumadau, extending in the east to the Makarrikarri depression.[2] The name these people are known by is obviously of Bantu origin; what they call themselves has not been recorded. Finally, in the Tati district on the eastern border of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and extending into the adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, are still other Bushmen, whose own name is apparently *Hiechware*, "people of the open country,"[3] but who are commonly spoken of simply as *MaSarwa*, a name which, as previously mentioned, is applied by the BeChwana to Bushmen generally. All these tribes have evidently been long exposed to Bantu influence, and are strongly mixed with Bantu blood. Some of them still lead their traditional mode of life, but they are all to some extent subject to their Bantu neighbours, often acting as their huntsmen and cattle herds, as well as being required to pay them a regular tribute.

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In addition to the tribes included in these main linguistic groups, there are two other groups of Bushmen of whom mention must be made. In the coastal province of Mossamedes, South-West Angola, a number of Bushmen are found between the Capondo River on the north and the Korocas River on the south.[4] Very little is actually known of them. They are spoken of only by their Bantu names—*BaKwando*, *BaKwisso*, *BaKubai*, and *BaKorocas*—and appear to have been considerably influenced in race and culture by the neighbouring Bantu. Their distribution suggests that they may belong to the Northern Group of Bushmen, but as no information is available about their language this cannot be definitely asserted.

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619 197 The other group comprises the few isolated inhabitants of the

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 25; R. Pöch, "Ethnographische und geographische Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," *Petermann's Mitt.*, lviii (1912), 15–20 and map.

[2] Passarge, loc. cit.; Pöch, op. cit.

[3] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37–112; *idem*, "Tati Bushmen," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xii (1921), 205–8; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925.

[4] J. Oliviera Ferreira Diniz, *Populaçoes indigénas de Angola*, Coimbra, 1918, 477–91.

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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *ǂganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in 1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

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144 coming from the BaRotse and the BeChwana, is more strongly marked, especially in the Okavango-Zambesi basin. Here the Bushman tribes such as the Hukwe and the Galikwe, who have been longest in contact with the Bantu, are found to diverge most in appearance from the true Bushman type as seen south of the Molopo.

177 In culture, again, the Namib Bushmen and those south of the
184 Molopo River form a separate division; the latter especially have apparently been little affected by foreign influences, and in features such as art, ritual, and mythology have developed along special lines. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, have obviously been influenced in technology and several other aspects by contact with alien peoples. Their culture has consequently been modified and has deviated somewhat from that of their southern relatives. The North-Western tribes (Auen, Naron, and Kung) have certain well-marked features of social organization and religion not noticed further south, while the Heikum in many aspects of their culture show unmistakable signs of Hottentot and South-Western Bantu influence. The other Kalahari tribes, especially those to the north-east and in the extreme east, have been considerably influenced in material culture and to some extent also in religious beliefs and practices by the Chwana tribes among whom they live.

184 These differences are important. At the same time, it must be noted that little is known of the Namib Bushmen, who now live as scattered remnants. The Southern Bushmen also are now almost completely extinct, and the only aspect of their culture at all carefully investigated is religion and mythology, preserved in the texts collected by Bleek, Lloyd, and Orpen. The North-Western tribes, on the other hand, are the most fully studied of all. It is possible therefore that some of the differences apparent between them and other Bushmen may be due simply to lack of the relevant information about the latter. The North-Eastern tribes, again, have not yet been investigated with the thoroughness and detail they deserve. Here also the possibility remains that further knowledge about them may reveal more features in common with the other Bushmen than are at present observable.

Numbers

151 The distribution of the Bushmen over so many distinct political areas, their general inaccessibility, their nomadic hunting life and consequent habit of living in small separate bands all combine to render difficult any attempt to arrive at a comprehensive figure of

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before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee 1912/1913: Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 159; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

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that the languages of both peoples belong to the same language family. It is possible also that their cultures were at one time essentially alike. The Hottentots, in other words, appear to have originally been a Bushman people. The differences now observable indicate, however, that they have diverged from the true Bushman type—to a slight extent only in race, but more noticeably in language, and above all, perhaps, in certain aspects of culture.[1]

These divergencies are generally attributed to the influence of Hamitic admixture. In support of this view may be adduced the fact that the grammatical peculiarities now separating the Hottentot languages from those of the Bushmen are characteristic of the Hamitic language family, while the cattle and sheep of the Hottentots are similar in breed to those of Equatorial and North-East Africa, originally introduced by the Hamites. It seems, therefore, that certain at least of the more important features which now distinguish the Hottentots from the Bushmen have been derived from some Hamitic source.

On the basis of this view, it is held by some writers that the Hottentots are a cross between early Hamitic-speaking pastoral invaders of South-West Africa and their Bushman forerunners. These invaders are said never to have been a numerous people, and to have largely recruited their female element from the Bushman tribes which they displaced, so that their type underwent a progressive change, until at last they had acquired many of the physical characters and a large element of the languages of the Bushmen.[2] According to this theory, the mixture of Hamites and Bushmen which produced the Hottentots would have taken place in South Africa. Against this having been the case may be urged not only the relatively late appearance of the Hottentots in South Africa, but also the small variability in their physical characters, as well as the absence of evidence for such intermixture on a large scale in historic times. On the other hand, the existence in Tanganyika Territory of Sandawe, a click language possessing numerous root and grammatical affinities with the Hottentot languages, and like them apparently owing its origin to a mixture of Bushman and Hamitic languages, suggests

[1] For a discussion of the evidence on which this conclusion is based see I. Schapera, "A Preliminary Consideration of the Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 833–66.

[2] This view is most clearly expressed by F. von Luschan, *The Racial Affinities of the Hottentots*, London, 1907 (reprinted from *Addresses and Papers delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and South African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii); *idem*, "Hamitische Typen," in Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912, pp. 252–3; cf. also F. Stuhlmann, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, Hamburg, 1910, pp. 140–1, 147.

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that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were slowly pushing westwards along the southern coast of South Africa.

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 267–8; A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.

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Chapter III

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS: DRESS AND DECORATION

Physical Characters of the Bushmen

In appearance there are many features which readily distinguish the Bushmen from all the other inhabitants of South Africa save the Hottentots, and which may therefore be taken as characteristic of them. These distinctive features are best seen in the Bushmen south of the Molopo River, who may be regarded as purest in type. The tribes further north have all been affected to some extent by racial intermixture with other peoples, and tend consequently to vary in certain respects. But they are fundamentally of the same racial stock.[1]

The most conspicuous feature in the appearance of the Southern Bushmen is their small stature. Accurate measurements are unfortunately very scanty. The most reliable figures are those given by Fritsch, who found that the average height of 6 men was 144·4 cm., and of 5 women 144·8 cm.[2] Von Luschan, who claimed to have measured 41 racially pure individuals, did not publish his figures in detail, but states that the average stature of both men and women is about 140 cm., and the maximum for pure-blooded people 146 cm.[3] Older but less trustworthy measurements give an even lower average. It may safely be taken therefore that the average stature is not more than 145 cm., but whether it is the same in both men and women must, in the absence of adequate data, be regarded as questionable.

North of the Molopo the stature increases. No figures are available

[1] The best descriptions of the physical characters of the Bushmen are to be found in: G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 396–410; R. Virchow, "Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1886, 221–39; H. Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; R. Pöch, "Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *KorrBl. deuts. Ges. Anthrop.*, xlii (1911), 75–80; F. Seiner, "Beobachtungen und Messungen an Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xliv (1912), 275–88; *idem*, "Beobachtungen an den Bastard-Buschleuten der Nord-Kalahari," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xliii (1913), 311–24; *idem*, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; F. von Luschan, "Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76; R. Martin, "Zur Anthropologie der Buschmänner," in E. Kaiser, *Die Diamantenwüste Südwestafrikas*, 1926, vol. ii, pp. 436–90 and bibliography; L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, pp. 186–211 and bibliography.

[2] Op. cit., 397.

[3] Op. cit., 155.

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Such individuals as I have measured ranged from 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] up to 5 ft. 9 in. [175·3 cm.]. A few were below or above these figures, but the average height may be taken at 5 ft. 5 in." [168 cm.].[1] Elsewhere he adds that "the women are usually considerably shorter than the men; those that I have measured ranged from 4 ft. 9¾ in. [146·8 cm.] up to 5 ft. 2½ in." [158·8 cm.], and he gives 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] as their average height.[2] The Hukwe and the Galikwe apparently attain to a still greater stature. Both Livingstone and Chapman speak of individuals fully 6 ft. tall (183 cm.), and the latter places the average stature of the "MaDenassena", i.e. Galikwe, at 5 ft. 10 in. (177·8 cm.).[3] According to Seiner the members of this tribe range in stature between 162 and 184 cm.,[4] and Wilhelm says of the Hukwe that statures of between 170 and 190 cm. must be regarded as normal.[5]

These figures show that on the whole the Bushmen north of the Molopo are distinctly taller than their Southern relatives, and it is evident that the further north and east we go the taller do they become. It has been suggested by several writers that this increase in stature is due to better conditions of subsistence. It is hardly justifiable, however, to assume that the Bushmen living within or on the borders of the Kalahari Desert could obtain better nourishment than those in the Cape, where water and food supply are on the whole much more favourable. It seems rather that we must look upon the pygmy stature of the Southern Bushmen as a true racial characteristic, and that the increased stature of the Northern tribes must be attributed to the influence of racial intermixture with other and taller peoples. This conclusion is borne out by several other features, of which the most evident perhaps is skin coloration.

In the Southern Bushmen the skin colour varies from light yellow to brownish-yellow. In the tribes just north of the Molopo some families are of the same colour, while others have darker tinges of varying shades—a patently new mixture. The Auen, Naron, and Kung have a fairly constant reddish-brown colour, although individuals incline more to yellow or to black. Among the !O Kung, according to Miss Bleek, some individuals are blackish-yellow, others reddish-brown or copper colour, others again are almost black, although

[1] "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas)," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 43.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 1925, p. 79.
[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in S. Africa*, 1857, p. 165; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of S. Africa*, 1868, vol. i, p. 46.
[4] *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 299.
[5] *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 300.

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lighter in shade than the Bantu of the same region; and she adds that in Bushman-Bantu crosses the first generation of children may be either yellowish or blackish, while later generations, where both parents have a little Bantu blood, show the reddish-brown colour which distinguishes these Northern Bushmen from the Southern.[1] The colour of the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, says Dornan, "is usually darker than in the typical Bushman, but even it is not constant. I have met individuals of the brownish-yellow colour of the Southern Bushmen, and even amongst these there were individuals of a very dark type."[2] The same range of variation is found among the North-Eastern tribes, where, however, the dominant shade is a dark chocolate colour approaching that of the Bantu.

It appears moreover that the light-coloured individuals in the tribes just north of the Molopo are comparatively short, while the darker individuals are all of greater height. The same is probably true of the Hiechware, while Kaufmann writes of the Auen that the band living at Gam, in the northernmost part of the tribal territory, consists almost entirely of proportionately tall individuals, whose colour is darker than that of the rest of the tribe.[3] If these observations are accurate, and they need to be tested by statistical investigation, they would provide an excellent indication of the lines along which the still necessary detailed study may be made of the variations produced in the physical characters of the Bushmen by intermixture with other peoples. In any case, if we bear in mind the advance of the Bantu peoples from the north-east and the extent to which the different Bushman tribes have therefore been exposed to contact with them, it need occasion no surprise that the most northern and eastern tribes show on the whole the greatest stature and darkest colour.

Seiner, indeed, definitely terms the Bushman tribes of the Northern Kalahari "Bastard-Buschleute". His general remarks on their characteristics may be quoted as a concise statement of the extent to which mixture with other peoples has taken place in this region. "Das Gebiet der Bastard-Buschleute," he says,[4] "liegt ganz in der südlichen Zone der Nord-Kalahari, zwischen dem südangolesischen Hochland und dem Kaokoveld einerseits, sowie dem Matabeleland und Nordost-Rhodesia anderseits . . . Dieses Gebiet wird durch den Okawango in einen grossen westlichen und in einen kleineren

[1] "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop.*, N.F. xxi (1927), 48.
[2] *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 42.
[3] Op. cit., 316.
[4] *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 283–4.

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östlichen Teil geschieden. Während nun in der westlichen Bastardzone, sowie in der Süd- und Mittel-Kalahari die Buschmannstämme mehr von Hottentotten als von Negern durchdrungen sind, ist die Zersetzung der Buschmannrasse in der östlichen Zone, dem Okawango-Sambesi-Gebiet, häuptsächlich auf die Vermischung mit Bantu zurückzuführen. Der eigentliche Rassentypus ist wohl sehr verwischt, kommt aber in der Mehrzahl der Fälle doch so stark zum Ausdruck, dass man diese Bastarde unbedingt zu den Buschleuten rechnen muss. Die Individuen neigen in Physiognomie und Wuchs bald mehr dem Neger, bald mehr dem Buschmann zu. Zwischen dem eckigen Buschmannkopf und dem runden Schädel des Negers sind die verschiedensten Verbindungen vorhanden, und von der fahlgelben bzw. rötlichgelben Hautfarbe der Buschleute bis zur rötlichschwarzbraunen Farbe der Neger zeigen sich zahlreiche Übergänge. Bereits Livingstone berichtet, dass die nördlich des Ngamisees, also in der Nord-Kalahari, lebenden Buschleute grösser, kräftiger und dunkelfarbiger seien als jene der südlichen Steppen. Tatsächlich sind in der östlichen Bastardzone Menschen von 170 cm. häufig, und diese Beobachtung war auch der Hauptgrund, dieses Menschengruppe nicht ohne weiteres als Buschleute anzuerkennen, da die Variationsbreite der Körpergrösse der letzteren zwischen 140 bis 160 cm. liegt. Am Okawango, an dem die westlichen Bastardzone beginnt, sind Individuen von 170 cm. Körperhöhe seltener und ist der Prozentsatz an ausgeprägten Buschmanntypen grösser, welcher Umstand vielleicht einen stärkeren Neigung zu Rückschlägen zugeschrieben werden könnte."

It may be taken therefore, although only stature and skin colour have so far been touched upon as the most apparent indications of variation, that the Southern Bushmen do actually represent the purest Bushman type, while the Northern tribes all show some degree of intermixture with other peoples. They are, however, of undoubted Bushman stock, and although in the following brief survey of the principal racial characters of the Bushmen the Southern tribes have been taken as the standard type, it must be understood that save where otherwise indicated the description applies equally to all the Bushmen.

The skin itself of the Bushmen is very dry and lean, with little adipose tissue. It readily forms into deep wrinkles and folds, especially on the face, even in fairly young and well-nourished people. In the Northern tribes, and chiefly in the "Bastard" Bushmen, the

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142 tendency to fold is not so excessive, wrinkled features being comparatively rare in young people. There is very little hair on the body. The greater part of its surface seems completely bare; the arm-pits have only a weak show of hair, and even in the pubic regions the growth is very sparse. It is only on the scalp and occasionally on the eyebrows that the hair is at all thick. Rudimentary and irregular traces of beard and moustache are sometimes seen in the men, but rarely grow to any length or thickness. The hair is black in colour, and becomes grey only in very old people; baldness is extremely rare, even in advanced age. The hair is commonly very short and fine, but occasionally may be fairly long on the head of a woman. Such occurrences, however, seem to be rare, and it cannot be said that length of hair is a secondary sexual characteristic in the Bushmen. The hairs are tightly coiled into small spiral knots (not inappropriately referred to in popular speech as "peppercorns") which on the scalp appear to be separated by bare spots, but actually the hair follicles are distributed as in other races. In section the hair presents an elliptical contour.

141 The head in the Southern Bushmen is small and relatively broad (mesocephalic), and markedly low in the crown (platycephalic). The
142 face is broad and flat, somewhat rectangular in shape, and generally orthognathous or only slightly prognathous. The forehead is low and bulging, the cheek-bones fairly prominent, and the lower jaw relatively broad. In the Northern tribes there is a slight but distinct tendency for the head to be narrower and higher, the face appears longer and more oval in shape, and a fair degree of prognathism is
● [144] often noticed. Among the Kung, and particularly among the !O Kung, one sometimes finds long narrow faces with aquiline noses and almost Semitic features, hinting at some new racial component which still remains to be determined; but even in these tribes the small rectangular Bushman facial type crops up in a number of faces with more or less negroid features.

142 The nose is generally low and very broad, especially at the root. As seen in profile, it is short and concave, but is set well back and often appears quite flat. The wings are broad, and the nostrils, which are directed forwards, have a curious splayed-out appearance. The orbits are low and the eyes set rather wide apart. The opening between the eyelids is very narrow, and often appears slightly oblique, owing to the remarkable fullness of the upper lid and the fact that a prominent fold of skin curves round from above it to the side of

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arm is the shortest on record. In the Northern tribes measured by Seiner and Werner the index of span-breadth to stature is just over 100, whereas in Europeans it is about 103 and in the Central African Pygmies as much as 106. The hands and feet are very small and narrow in proportion, the fingers and toes short and stumpy.

The outline of the body is sunken and angular, and all projections are strongly marked. The shoulders are angular, and the shoulder-blades and collar-bones stand out very strongly, owing to the thinness of the muscles and the lack of adipose tissue in the skin. The chest as a rule is fairly well developed, though its appearance is sometimes vitiated by the variable conditions of the abdomen, and especially by the frequent occurrence of a pendulous belly, chiefly in young people, as the result of unfavourable diet, unrestricted gorging, and the frequent alternation between starvation and plenty. Where the food supply is at all regular, this abnormal protuberance is rarely seen. The buttocks are small but often seem prominent owing to the curious inward curvature of the spine in the lumbo-sacral region. The penis, even when not in a state of erection, often extends horizontally in a semi-erect condition. This remarkable feature, portrayed also in many of the Bushman paintings of human beings, has been regarded by some recent writers, such as von Luschan and Seiner, as a special racial characteristic of the Bushmen.

The Northern Bushmen do not differ very markedly in build from their Southern relatives, although the "Bastard" tribes are on the whole better developed physically. They have stronger limbs, with arms and legs slightly longer in proportion; the shoulders are more rounded, and the chest seen to better advantage. The protuberant abdomen and the marked hollow of the back due to the lumbo-sacral curvature are present in most individuals. The hands and feet are slightly bigger, the fingers and toes longer. The horizontal projection of the penis was noted by Seiner in about three-fifths of the men he examined. He states that with admixture of Bantu blood it begins to droop, so that there does appear to be some racial significance attached to this feature. Its occurrence has not yet been physiologically explained, although Seiner suggests that it may be due to a strong development of the *Ligamentum suspensorium penis*.

The female body, like that of the male, is generally slender, the limbs slight, the hands and feet small. In mature women, however, there is often found a strong accumulation of fat on the thighs and especially on the buttocks, a character known as steatopygia, which

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somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

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South Africa that we cannot but look upon these two peoples as very closely allied in race. Both the Cape Bushmen and the Hottentots have a brownish-yellow skin colour; black, spiral, sparsely-distributed hair; low heads and faces, broad flat noses with low bridges, widely separated eyes with narrow openings and a strong development of the upper lid; steatopygia and elongation of the labia minora. The Hottentots, however, are taller; their heads are larger in length and height, and prevalently dolicocephalic; their faces slightly longer and more prognathous, and their noses slightly narrower; while steatopygia is also more common.

Now it has already been shown that the more northerly Bushmen are taller and darker than the Cape Bushmen, and that their heads tend to be longer and higher and proportionately narrower, while they have also a higher degree of prognathism. These divergencies, we have seen, are obviously the result of intermixture with other peoples, principally of negroid (Bantu) stock. In the Hottentots the differences from the Cape Bushmen in stature and the shape of the head are of the same nature as those found in the Northern Bushmen. On the other hand, they have the same skin colour as the Cape Bushmen, and certain peculiarities, such as steatopygia, which are more pronounced in them than even in the Bushmen, and which seldom occur in the Northern Bushmen.

In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the Northern Bushmen, it seems that we must look upon the Hottentots also as people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical characters by intermixture with some other racial group. The prevalent theory, as already mentioned, is that this new component was derived from the light-skinned Hamitic stock. Shrubsall, however, working upon skeletal material alone, maintains that this theory is untenable, and that the new element in the composition of the Hottentots must have been of Bantu stock. "The appearance of the Hottentot skulls," he says, "in no way suggests any marked intermediate characters between those of Bushmen and of any more Hamitic race, while in the features in which they differ from the Bush crania they certainly resemble negroes . . . When the distribution of the various cranial and facial indices is compared it may be seen that the Hottentot in almost every case is intermediate between the Bushmen and the Bantu negroes . . . It can be shown that while the Hottentot measurements are in some respects intermediate between those of Bushmen and of Hamites, they are more nearly intermediate between the

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Bushmen and the Bantu, and where they show this least they resemble the Sudanese negro more than the Hamite."[1]

The fact that the Northern Bushmen, who have unquestionably been affected by racial intermixture with the Bantu, tend to diverge from the Cape Bushmen in the same cranial features as do the Hottentots might seem to support this view. On the other hand, these Northern Bushmen have also acquired a darker skin colour, while the Hottentots are as light in colour as the Cape Bushmen; and, again, as von Luschan has shown, occasionally one finds facial features in the Hottentots which are strongly reminiscent of the Hamitic type, and can only be regarded as reversions to it (cf. Plate V).[2] Schultze also comments upon the same fact, and shows that in several of the men whose physical characters he investigated statures well above the mean were combined with long faces and narrow noses, features indicative of Hamitic influence.[3] Moreover, although such evidence cannot be adduced as conclusive in a discussion of purely racial origins, it is surely not without some bearing upon this question that the languages of the Hottentots present affinities to those of the Hamitic language family, and that their cattle and sheep are of the breeds associated in Africa with Hamitic culture.

The craniological evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Hottentots are a true Bushman-Hamitic cross without a negro element; but the other factors noted suggest that some Hamitic element at least must have entered into the composition of the Hottentots. In this connection it must be mentioned that the Bantu themselves are negroes who have been affected to some extent by Hamitic admixture. Consequently the resemblance in cranial characters between the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen need not necessarily argue against the presence of Hamitic blood in the former. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having a predominantly Hamitic culture. The fact that the racially pure Hottentots now vary but slightly amongst themselves suggests that this intermixture which gave rise to them is of very long standing, and hence probably originated before they came into South Africa.

[1] F. C. Shrubsall, "The Pygmy and Negro Races of Africa," *Lancet*, 1908 (January–June), p. 985.
[2] "Hamitische Typen," in C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, pp. 252–3.
[3] Op. cit., p. 213.